

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 9474

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

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SUBJ: PEKING ISSUES IMPORTANT ANTI-SOVIET POLEMIC

SUMMARY: AN IMPORTANT RED FLAG ARTICLE PROVIDES A THEORETICAL
BACKUP TO CHOU EN-LAI'S RECENT POLITICAL REPORT AND HIS STRESS
ON THE SOVIET THREAT. RED FLAG CATEGORICALLY CLASSIFIES THE
USSR AS A MONOPOLY-CAPITALIST STATE WHICH IN ACCORDANCE WITH
CLASSIC LENINIST "OBJECTIVE LAWS" INEVITABLY TURNS TO AN
EXPANSIONIST POLICY ABROAD. THE ARTICLE ALSO REFLECTS A
BALANCE OF POWER ANALYSIS. END SUMMARY.

1. THE LATEST ISSUE OF RED FLAG (NO. 9) PROVIDES A THEORETI-
CAL RATIONALIZATION OF PEKING'S WORLD VIEW, PARTICULARLY ITS
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STRESS ON THE SOVIET THREAT AS RECENTLY PRESENTED BY CHOU EN-LAI
AT THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS. THE ARTICLE, BY CHANG CHIEN (AN AP-
ARENT PSEUDONYM,) IS THE MOST EXTENSIVE AND PROVOCATIVE INDICTMENT
OF THE SOVIET GOVT SINCE THE LONG POLEMIC "LENINISM OR SOCIAL

IMPERIALISM" PUBLISHED IN APRIL 1970. EMPLOYING LENIN'S "THEORY OF IMPERIALISM" TO EXPLAIN THE DYNAMICS OF THE PRESENT STRUGGLE FOR WORLD HEGEMONY BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR, THE ARTICLE STATES THAT ECONOMIC FACTORS, PARTICULARLY THE UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST POLITICS AND ECONOMICS, REQUIRES MONOPOLY-CAPITALIST POWERS TO COMPETE FOR HEGEMONY: THIS IS AN "ABSOLUTE LAW OF CAPITALISM."

2. IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH THAT SOVIET "SOCIAL IMPERIALISM" IS SUBJECT TO THE "OBJECTIVE LAWS OF IMPERIALISM" THE ARTICLE REPEATS THE 1970 DECLARATION THAT THE ECONOMIC BASE OF SOVIET SOCIETY IS "MONOPOLY-CAPITALISM" WITH THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF A "HITLER-TYPE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP" (THE LATTER TERM COMES FROM A REPORTED MAO TALK OF MAY, 1964) EVEN MORE CLEARLY THAN IN THE 1970 POLEMIC, HOWEVER, THE PRESENT ARTICLE ASSERTS THAT THE "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY COUP D'ETAT" OF THE "SOVIET REVISIONIST RENEGADE CLIQUE" HAS "LED TO CAPITALIST RESTORATION THROUGHOUT THE SOVIET UNION." THUS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAWS OF MONOPOLY CAPITALIST-BASED IMPERIALISM THE SOVIET GOVT, IN ORDER "TO ROB THE PEOPLE OF MORE WEALTH AND DIVERT THEIR ATTENTION" IS "WANTONLY PURSUING AN AGGRESSIVE AND EXPANSIONIST POLICY ABROAD."

3. IN AN UNUSUALLY DIRECT USE OF THE TERM "BALANCE OF POWR," THE AUTHOR STATES THAT ONCE THE BALANCE AMONG THEM CHANGES, THE SHIFTING RELATIONSHIP OF THE CONTENDING IMPERIALIST POWERS INTENSIFIES "THE PROBLEM OF SEEKING REDIVISION FO THE WORLD," AND FINALLY LEADS TO WAR. IN THE AUTHOR'S VIES US IMPERIALISM HAS "FALLEN FROM ITS PEAK" AND IS "GOING DOWNHILL" WHILE SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM IS ON THE OFFENSIVE. THE ARTICLE CHARGES THAT THE TWO SUPERPOWERS ARE BOTH "RUNNING AMUCK" BUT THAT "SOVIET REVISIONIST SOCIAL IMPERIALISM INPARTICULAR IS EXTENDING ITS TENTACLES EVERYWHERE AND STOPS AT NO EXTREMES." THE AUTHOR INDICATES THAT THE PRIMARY THREAT IS FROM THE SOVIETS AND PROVIDES THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE CHINESE COMMENT TO DATE ON THIS SUBJECT: "THE REACTIONARY RULE OF SOCIAL IMPERIALISM HAS SHARPENED THE FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTION OF IMPERIALISM, ESPECIALLY THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN SOCIAL IMPERIALISM AND THE PEOPLE'S OF OTHER COUN-
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TRIES OF THE WORLD."

4. LIKE CHOU, RED FLAG DESCRIBES EUROPE AS THE "KEY STRATEGIC POINT" BECAUSE IT IS THE REGION IN WHICH BOTH SUPERPOWERS HAVE "ENORMOUS ECONOMIC AND MILITARY INTERESTS." THE ARTICLE CITES CHOU'S WARNING THAT THE SOVIETS ARE MAKING A "FEINT TO THE EAST" WHILE IN FACT THEIR MAIN AMBITION LIES IN THE WEST. THE AUTHOR, AGAIN ECHOING CHOU'S REPORT, STATES THAT SUPERPOWER CONTE TION HAS "CAUSED RESENTMENT ON THE PART OF JAPAN AND WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES." THIS LINE IS APPARENTLY MEANT TO SUGGEST THAT THE COUNTRIES OF THE "SECOND INTERMEDIATE ZONE," WHILE STILL DEPENDENT ON US POWER, ARE STEADILY DEVELOPING AS INDEPENDENT FORCES. THE AUTHOR, HOWEVER, DOES NOT EXPLAIN THE APPLICATION OF THE "LAWS OF IMPERIALISM" TO

THE SECOND-RANK "MONOPOLY-CAPITALIST" GOVERNMENTS. LESS ATTENTION IS PAID TO THE THIRD WORLD, ALTHOUGH IT IS DESCRIBED AS THE AREA WHERE REVOLUTIONARY STORMS AND "THE MAJOR FORCES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM" ARE CONCENTRATED.

5. THE RED FLAG AUTHOR ALSO FOLLOWS CHOU IN DISMISSING SIGNS OF US-SOVIET DETENTE AS "FALSE," AND AS HERALDING "A NEW GREATER AND FIERCER STRUGGLE." US-SOVIET CONTENTION IS SAID TO BE "ABSOLUTE AND PROTRACTED" WHEREAS THEIR COLLUSION IS DESCRIBED AS "RELATIVE AND TEMPORARY."

6. IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT IN CONTRAST TO THE COMPARABLE 1970 POLEMIC THERE IS NO EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF THE SOVIET THREAT TO CHINA ITSELF. THE AUTHOR, HOWEVER, REPEATS CHOU'S WARNING AGAINST "SURPRISE ATTACK." IN ADDITION, THERE IS NO SUGGESTION THAT THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL RISE UP AND OVERTHROW THE REVISIONIST CLIQUE. THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES ON THE OPTIMISTIC NOTE THAT BOTH SOCIAL IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM ARE "PAPER TIGERS" AND THAT THEIR SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE "ROTTEN AND MORIBUND." THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE ARE MASTERS OF THE WORLD, IT ASSERTS, AND "THE EXTERMINATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE" IS INEVITABLE.

7. COMMENT: THIS ARTICLE IS AN IMPORTANT BACKUP TO CHOU'S REPORT. WITH THESE TWO DOCUMENTS THE CCP MORE CLEARLY THAN EVER BEFORE CASTS THE SOVIETS OUT OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP. ANOTHER MAIN PURPOSE SEEMS TO BE TO REASSURE CHINESE AUDIENCES THAT MANIFESTATIONS OF A US-SOVIET DETENTE, SUCH AS THE NIXON-BREZHNEV MEETING, SHOULD NOT CAUSE UNDUE CONCERN. IN ADDITION THE ARTICLE SUGGESTS THAT THERE IS LITTLE HOPE
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IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE OF A TURN-FOR-THE-BETTER IN SOVIET POLICY, GIVEN THE ECONOMIC-POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF SOVIET SOCIETY. SIGNIFICANTLY THERE IS NO DISCUSSION OF IDEOLOGICAL POINTS OF DISPUTE WITH THE CPSU SUCH AS THE CONCEPTS OF "PEACEFUL TRANSITION," THE "PARTY AND STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE," "CONTINUATION OF CLASS STRUGGLE IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY," ETC. BY IMPLICATION THERE IS NO USE DEBATING ABOUT THESE POINTS ANY LONGER. INSTEAD THE ARTICLE SUGGESTS THAT REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE TODAY MAINLY TAKES THE FORM OF NATIONALISM AGAINST IMPERIALISM, PARTICULARLY THE SOVIET BRAND. THUS THE MAIN TASK IN THE PRESENT ERA IS THE COUNTERING OF SOVIET POWER MOVES RATHER THAN IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE.
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